1961

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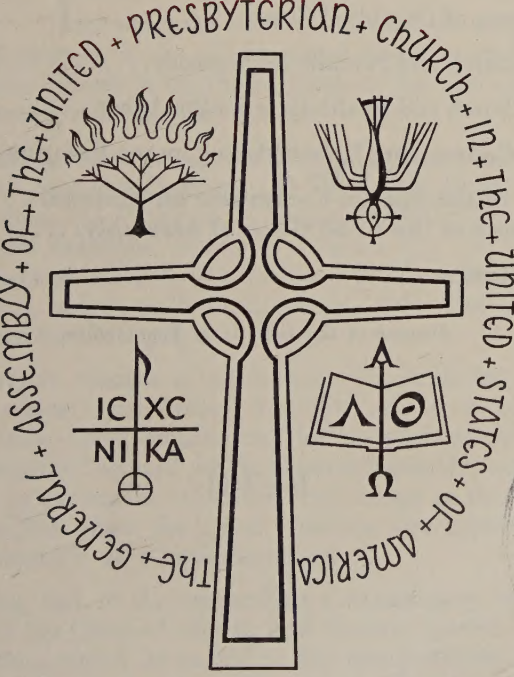
# SOCIAL Deliverances

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United Presbyterians Speak—1961

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*Artwork in this issue is by Tom Arthur.*

July 1961

# BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

IN THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS we present the social deliverances of the 173d General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America which met in Buffalo during the latter part of May.

There are ten sections: (1) Preamble, (2) The Communist Conspiracy and American Freedom, (3) The Fascist Threat and American Freedom, (4) Problems of Metropolitan Society, (5) Racial and Cultural Relations, (6) Latin America, (7) The Church and the Problems of Alcohol, (8) Problems of Organized Crime, (9) The Church and Juvenile Delinquency, (10) The Church and Health Care for the Aging.

Each section consists of an introductory or background statement, the action of the General Assembly, and in one or two cases a brief section on implementation. The "pronouncements" actually include only the "actions" of the General Assembly, and these are presented in the text in bold-faced type, except in the case of the alcohol section where the entire statement was approved by the General Assembly as a pronouncement.

Following each of the ten sections a commentary, prepared by the staff of the Office of Church and Society, presents additional background material as an aid to the interpretation and implementation of the General Assembly actions. The staff comments are not to be regarded as part of the material approved by the General Assembly or even as "official" interpretation.

It is appropriate to review the process by which the pronouncements are developed. The process is nearly as important as the pronouncements themselves. In brief outline the steps are as follows:

1. The Counseling Committee on Church and Society, working over a period of several months and doing much of its work in specialized subcommittees and task forces to which experts are related, developed a set of recommendations which were transmitted to the General Assembly.

2. These recommendations were referred by the General Assembly to the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, composed of twenty-three persons representing the electing sections of the General Assembly, which studied the proposals carefully (devoting some thirty hours to this process) and on the basis of them developed a report which was presented to the General Assembly in printed form.

3. The General Assembly in a plenary session which extended more than three hours very thoroughly discussed the report of the Standing Committee and approved it with only one substantive change in the direction of improving the document.

We should be reminded that the authority of the social deliverances of the General Assembly derives from the high status of the body issuing them and also from the care and responsibility with which that body, the General Assembly, speaks its mind. The pronouncements are not the law and order of the church. They do not attempt to represent the "by and large" thinking of all the members of our churches. They represent the General Assembly's prayerful consideration of some of the crucial issues of the hour. The social deliverances are "advisory and ministerial." Their purpose is to stir and to guide the churches in responding to God's actions in the events of our time. They are also "a witness to the world of our church's involvement with its Lord and with his world." They deserve to be studied carefully and to be acted upon seriously.

*—The Staff*

# *Social Deliverances of the 173d General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.*

**As adopted from the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action in Buffalo, New York, May 24, 1961**

## PREAMBLE

THESE are times in which the sovereign God is shaking and destroying the things that deny or ignore his Lordship. He is using the persons, forces, and events of the day as his instruments. As always God is moving in the affairs of men and nations in order that his judgment and mercy in Jesus Christ may be revealed and his Kingdom made plain. The spectacles of faith given to the church by Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit enable the church to discern the signs of the times.

Christ constantly calls the church out into the world that the church may be faithful and obedient to him. Hence, it is misleading to believe or say that the church has the Word and is commissioned to take the Word into the world. If the Word is Christ, then it is more relevant to confess that he has the church and is calling it into the world, where he still works to do the will of the Father.

The church is most faithful and obedient when it moves from worship in God's house to witness in God's world. Its witness is through both corporate action and personal participation within the arena of conflict and controversy. In serving the world in his name, the church not only reveals his grace, but out there may find it for itself.

In the moment of its obedient response to Jesus Christ in the world, the church knows its freedom from the idolatry of nation, caste, security, comfort—the freedom to speak and act in judgment and mercy against men's loyalty to their most dearly loved idols. Members of this Committee experienced a taste of that freedom, when as men and women of different race, class, and background, they found themselves laying aside prior commitments to opposing positions and being led to discover their oneness in Christ by the Holy Spirit.

The action of the General Assembly on the report of this Committee is a guide to our churches and their members in their encounter with the world and the persons that Jesus Christ has come to redeem. It also is a witness to the world of our church's involvement with its Lord and with

his world. In speaking to the problems of communism and freedom, of metropolitan society, of race, of Latin America, of alcohol, of crime and juvenile delinquency, and of medical care for the aging, the General Assembly neither binds the conscience of United Presbyterians nor speaks for them as individuals. But it does lay before them and before the world its prayerful judgment about the love of the sovereign God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—with respect to these problems.

Our churches and members are free to wrestle with them, to speak and act on them, in the house of God and in the world, in the moment they open themselves to the leading of the Holy Spirit into the world where the risen Christ calls them to serve with him.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Proclaims to our churches and members their freedom in Christ to become involved in even the most controversial affairs of our common life; and**

**Urges them, in so doing, to be guided by the social deliverances of the General Assembly.**

## *COMMENTARY*

The Preamble to the social deliverances of the 173d General Assembly seeks to articulate the theological context out of which the church speaks to the concrete issues of the day.

In doing so it consciously avoids two traps: (*a*) endeavoring to find a direct line from some Scriptural text or texts to the complex problems of a highly organized and industrialized society and (*b*) developing "a theology," distinct and separate, for each social issue.

The church in the Reformed tradition has one "theology." It is Scriptural and confessional. The unique character of a particular time may demand that one or another theological theme be emphasized or more strongly asserted as relevant to that time, but Biblical theology cannot be reconstituted and a "new theology" developed for each new set of circumstances.

The theological Preamble adopted by the 173d General Assembly obviously lies within the Reformed tradition, but it asserts as peculiarly relevant to our day four points:

1. The importance of actual "persons, forces, and events" of the real world of history as the instruments by which the sovereign God works his judging and redeeming will in the here and now.

2. The uniqueness of our revolutionary contemporary situation as a historical reality on the one hand, and on the other, the similarity of all historical situations as the arena of God's action in Christ the Word.

3. The *freedom* of the church, when led by the Holy Spirit, to encounter Jesus Christ out there in the world, and in so doing not only to *reveal* his grace to the world but to *rediscover* his grace for the church.

4. The function of the General Assembly in its actions as being neither

a spokesman for each United Presbyterian as an individual nor a shackle upon his conscience, but rather as a *guide* for our churches and their members as they wrestle with the controversial social problems of our day, and as a *witness* to the world that The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. is deeply involved with its Lord and his world.

## THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY AND AMERICAN FREEDOM

THE task of devising effective and appropriate means by which our nation can fulfill its destiny as a free society in the face of the threat of international communism is real and urgent. Recent and sometimes vitriolic public controversy about persons and programs attempting to face this task suggest that it is time for thoughtful Americans of all faiths to consider seriously the responsibilities in this situation which confronts us.

The international communist conspiracy is objectively real and vitally dangerous to the Christian church, the United States, and the values of human dignity we accept.

Outside the United States the evidence of communist imperialism is abundantly clear—in China, in North Korea, in Vietnam, in Tibet, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Hungary, in Cuba, to cite only a few nations that have come under its tyranny. In some countries the Communist take-over has been accomplished by indirect military coup, in others by direct military intervention, in still others by the gaining of control of the centers of power by Communist agents.

Within the United States the communist threat is also very real, as manifest in the conviction by due process of law of Communist agents for espionage—the conveying of military secrets to the Soviet Union. We also have reason to believe that sabotage—the destruction of military and communications installations by Communist agents—is a potential threat.

These real dangers of espionage and sabotage in our country can best be dealt with by specialized agents trained in the methods of prevention, detection, and apprehension. A thorough public awareness and support of such defenses of our internal security is necessary. However, an obsessive public preoccupation with these dangers diverts our energies from other important tasks.

The very real external danger of the political, economic, and military machinations of international communism—to us, to our allies, and to the uncommitted nations of the world—can best be confronted by a conscious Christian witness and by creative, co-ordinated programs of political action and economic co-operation from a position of strength.

The fear of subversion has led to much distrust. Public officials, clergymen, schoolteachers, and others whose loyalty to the United States is beyond question to those who know them, have been irresponsibly accused of being

"card-carrying Communists" or "dupes." Reputations have been damaged and, in some instances, careers ruined by undocumented charges and intentional innuendoes, implying disloyalty to our country. Organizations engaged in controversial but legitimate efforts in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties have been labeled as "subversive" or worse by some of those who oppose their goals and their methods. Public policies in the areas of education, welfare, and economics have been opposed as "communist-influenced" without intelligent consideration of their objective value in meeting concrete problems in those areas.

Fear continues to work as the enemy of intelligence, responsibility, and decision. There are some indications that an unreasoning fear of communism has vitiated and paralyzed the ability of some Americans to think intelligently and responsibly about either the objective reality of the communist threat to freedom *or* the unfinished business of a free society. Certainly the debate of Americans with Americans about alternative policies and programs has been unduly complicated and confused by the sowing of suspicion and distrust of the motives and loyalties of those supporting opposing positions.

Any distortion of truth in an effort to arouse the American public to any threat to American freedom is not an effective or a justifiable method in a free society. Loyal and responsible Americans should use honest criticism of such distortion wherever it occurs. It is imperative that Americans make the fine distinction between honest blunders of policy in the past, innocent associations with what turned out to be questionable organizations, and honest proposals for the future, on the one hand—and on the other hand, revealed or concealed loyalty to an alien nation or a hostile ideology. The former is part and parcel of the life of an open society and ought so to be accepted. The latter demands detection and ought to be rejected. Public suspicions, fear, and hysteria do not contribute to such a distinction.

The danger to the noncommunist world, including our own nation, is too great and real for us to waste our energies and dissipate our intelligence in costly wrangling born of mutual suspicion and distrust within our body politic. And the need to strengthen and enlarge the cause of freedom, justice, and order within our own borders and around the world is too urgent to vitiate the necessary debate over real alternative programs by undocumented charges and ideological slogans.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Calls upon all Americans to inform themselves thoroughly and responsibly as to the very real dangers inherent in the international communist conspiracy, and in doing so to use only resources that do not mishandle the truth or exploit such devices as "guilt by association"; which means that lists of alleged subversive organizations produced by agencies other than the office of the Attorney General of the United States should not be used;**

**Expresses its confidence in the present stability of the American people, their institutions, and their Government, and their ability to resist both real and imagined threats to subvert them;**

**Commends the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its effective work in exposing and bringing to justice known Communist agents engaged in espionage or sabotage;**

**Calls upon public officials and political leaders to debate and enact programs on the basis of their ability to meet concrete current or future needs, without resorting to emotional or ideological slogans that obscure real issues;**

**Urges all Americans to challenge undocumented assertions of Communist or Fascist affiliation or sympathy leveled at their leaders in Government, schools, unions, churches, and other organizations, and to avoid spreading rumors or suspicion about their fellow Americans without evidence that could stand in a court of law; and**

**Refers our churches to the Board of Christian Education for resources and study materials in this area.**

## *COMMENTARY*

This section of the social deliverances occasioned lengthy discussion in the Counseling Committee, in the Standing Committee, and on the floor of the Assembly. The original draft transmitted by the Counseling Committee was considerably altered in structure by the Standing Committee, and minor changes in its wording were made by floor action.

The introduction asserts in unequivocal terms our church's opposition to communist ideology and communist programs. Equally important, it maintains that a purely negative and defensive response to the very real threat of communism is not only unworthy but dangerous. Our nation is committed not only to defend itself against "all enemies foreign and domestic," but also to carry on a positive mission of building a free, just, and open society. This "unfinished business"—sometimes controversial business—of improving racial and economic justice, living out the Bill of Rights, enhancing civil liberties, is the first to go down the drain when the communist menace is misunderstood and fought with the weapons of fear and hysteria. And it is precisely this "unfinished business"—done well—that constitutes one of the major bulwarks within our nation against the communist menace.

The introduction seeks to make the important distinction between the real, objective threat of the international communist conspiracy and the phony "threat" that exists only in the minds of some people deeply influenced by those who make very lucrative incomes out of posing as professional "anti-Communists." Communism as a deadly enemy in the field of international relations is denied by very few Americans, and there is considerable evidence that Americans are for the most part united in taking seriously the necessity of enacting programs of foreign policy that will stand up in the cold war.

But communism as a domestic issue within our own borders seems to be peculiarly subject to fuzzy thinking—zeal without knowledge. The General Assembly asserts that the dangers of espionage and sabotage are very real or potentially real domestic issues, and points out that

they can best be dealt with by highly trained specialists who know how to detect them. In this connection, J. Edgar Hoover, in his *Masters of Deceit,* cautions: "Don't try to investigate yourself. Security investigations require great care and effort. The innocent must be protected as well as the guilty identified. That is the job for the professional investigator. Hysteria, witch hunts, and vigilantes weaken our internal security. . . .

"Too often I have seen cases where loyal and patriotic but misguided Americans have thought they were 'fighting communism' by slapping the label of 'red' or 'communist' on anybody who happened to be different from them or to have ideas with which they did not agree.

"Smears, character assassination, and the scattering of irresponsible charges have no place in this nation. They create division, suspicion, and distrust among loyal Americans—just what the Communists want—and hinder rather than aid the fight against communism."

This section of the General Assembly deliverances thus has both a negative and a positive thrust: it warns of the very real danger inherent in international communism—on both foreign and domestic scenes; it cautions against using the weapons of the Communists to fight the Communists; and it offers positive suggestions for fulfilling our nation's destiny as a free society in the light of the communist threat.

An issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS in the fall of 1961 will provide study materials to implement these positive and negative affirmations of the General Assembly. Meanwhile, churches that wish now to undertake responsible study in this area are encouraged to use such books as Ralph Lord Roy's *Communism and the Churches* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.); Richard Shaull's *Encounter with Revolution* (Association Press); John Bennett's *Christianity and Communism Today* (Association Press); and J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters of Deceit* (Pocket Books, Inc.).

## THE FASCIST THREAT AND AMERICAN FREEDOM

THE recent emergence of incipient fascism and local brands of nazism, similarly dangerous and subtly vicious tyrannies over the human spirit, should be opposed by the church of Jesus Christ. We call attention to the fact that our Lord unites us in the name of love against all efforts, individual or corporate, to divide human brothers into factions that foment hatred or the denial of liberty.

We as a church are continually bound by our obedience to our Lord to speak the truth at all times and at all costs, and are firmly convinced that failure to speak out against the distortions and threatening innuendoes of the film *Operation Abolition* would be, first of all, a failure to speak to the millions inside and outside of the church who look to us for judgment,

secondly, a failure to exercise our right and solemn duty as citizens of a democratic society to speak our mind on the issues of the hour, and lastly, a failure of trust—that God will support us if we are truly led by him, no matter how unpopular the voice we raise or how small our number may be.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Urges our Federal Government, and the American people generally, to oppose with all vigor, consistent with the history of this nation and of the Christian faith, any efforts to revive in our land the horrors so recently visited against mankind by the fascist movements of our time;**

**Calls upon the members of our churches to exercise deep caution in identifying themselves quickly or unprayerfully with movements or organizations which, though themselves allegedly against obvious evils, are not consistent or consonant with the spirit of redemptive concern for all mankind that is appropriate to all who call Jesus Christ their Lord;**

**Encourages our churches to examine both sides of the issue here involved in the well-founded criticisms of the film, *Operation Abolition*; and**

**Urges them not to show the film without acknowledging the criticisms and allowing time for their presentation.**

## *COMMENTARY*

This section originated not in committee but from the floor of the Assembly. It was discussed vigorously for a short time and then passed by virtually unanimous vote. While it must be seen in the light of the statement on "The Communist Conspiracy," it has significance in and of itself. The initial proposal was for inclusion of the "fascism" statement within the body of the one on "communism," but the Assembly wisely placed it in a separate section.

As *domestic* issues—threats from within to the processes and values of our society—communism and "incipient fascism" are quite different from each other. The one is an apparatus—small, disciplined, foreign-dominated—operating within a society that is overwhelmingly hostile to it, and rendered relatively ineffective thereby. The other is a "mood" that seems to be gaining strength in the United States, but thus far without any really effective organization or apparatus to give it direction and implementation.

Many of the churchmen attending the 173d General Assembly had been affected by the unrestrained controversy that has attended the widespread showing of the film *Operation Abolition.* This was undoubtedly a contributing factor in the action taken by the Assembly, which, it should be noted, neither states nor implies that the film itself should be called "fascist." This pronouncement indicates a concern both wider and deeper than any particular event. The Assembly was really troubled by what, for want of a better term, must still be called a "mood" that evidences radical suspicion and distrust of the democratic processes of open debate and dissent. The Assembly named this mood "incipient fascism" and "local brands of nazism."

It is necessary to distinguish be-

tween a "fascist movement" and a "fascist mood" to understand the concern voiced here. As a movement, fascism like communism seeks to capture the organs of government and institute a regime consciously dominated by a particular philosophy. If such a conscious movement exists in our nation, it is at present insignificantly small and constitutes no present danger to our Government.

As a widespread mood, however, fascism can subtly erode the confidence of a people in the ability of the democratic process to deal with the hard decisions made necessary by an increasingly complex society and a dangerous foreign power. The fascist spirit represents a desire to trust decisions to an elite authority and to stifle the expression of dissent or opposition to that authority. It looks for "the strong man" surrounded by his elite corps who follow his leadership without question.

The fascist mood is really an attempt to escape from freedom and responsibility into the security of authority. When it prevails among a people, that people is especially vulnerable to appeals such as the following from a man like Robert Welch:

> **Actually, we are going to cut through the red tape and parliamentary briar patches and roadblocks of confused purpose with direct authority at every turn. The men who join the John Birch Society during the next few months or few years are going to be doing so primarily because they believe in me and what I am doing and are willing to accept my leadership anyway. . . . We are not going to have factions developing on the two-sides-of-every-question theme. (Page 161 of *The Blue Book of the John Birch Society*.)**

Aside from local manifestations of extremist action by elements of the Ku Klux Klan, it is very doubtful that there exist *presently* any *conscious* "efforts to revive in our land the horrors so recently visited against mankind by fascist movements of our time." But such efforts are a potential danger constantly being fed by the fascist spirit, which the Assembly believed to be "incipient," or in its beginning stages. Fascism sooner or later looks for the "scapegoat," the "enemy," against which it directs itself.

This pronouncement does essentially three things:

1. Urges opposition to such efforts and the mood that engenders them.

2. Cautions United Presbyterians against joining groups solely because they seem to be "anti-" some evil. (This caution applies equally to those whose temperament might draw them into an uncritical alignment with Communist-front groups.)

3. Urges not that the film *Operation Abolition* be repressed—and this is important—but that honest criticism both in favor of, and in opposition to, the assertions made in the film be given the opportunity to be expressed whenever it is shown.

*(The actions on communism and fascism were read into the Congressional Record of June 19, 1961, by Congressman Richard Bolling, of Missouri.)*

CHURCHES are an inseparable part of the communities they serve. The complex and critical problems of decay and social disintegration seen in the crowded slums and the planless sprawl of suburbs are both a reflection of and a commentary on the church's influence and social responsibility. The churches' awareness of the needs of families and neighborhoods, their leadership in increasing public understanding and co-operation, have been crucial to the complex problems of metropolitan living, and to building community in the midst of social change.

With industrialization and technological change has come a steady shift from rural to urban centers of living. Sixty years ago only a third of our people lived in cities while two thirds lived in rural areas and on farms. Today the situation has reversed. Less than a third live outside metropolitan boundaries, and more than two thirds of the nation are concentrated in overlapping metropolitan areas. Open land surrounding urban centers is fast disappearing. Expressways, suburban housing developments, shopping centers, and new industrial sites have replaced farmland at the rate of about 1,000,000 acres a year. Metropolitan areas, core cities of 50,000 or more, and their surrounding suburbs have grown faster than any other sector of the nation and are still growing. By the year 2000 a population of 300,000,000 is forecast. Most of this population increase will occur in and around the expanding suburban areas.

The result of this phenomenal growth has been wasteful and haphazard suburban expansion and a desperate struggle against blight and deterioration in the center city. Vast movements of middle- and upper-income families to the suburbs and growth of outlying industrial sites and trade areas have deprived the center city of tax income precisely when the need is most urgent for renewal and public services. The surge to the suburbs has also produced mass transportation problems and critical shortage of schools, recreation areas, and water supplies.

The older center city areas continue to be crowded by large-scale movements from farms and small towns. Many young workers from the rural South and Puerto Rico are pouring into the great urban centers of the northeast, and the cities of the central region and the West Coast. These recent urbanites are a major source of skilled and semiskilled labor and have contributed to the economic expansion of urban areas, but their movements have also involved great social costs and disorganization because of their lack of experience with urban living and insufficient income to afford decent housing. Shortage of adequate housing for older persons, nonwhite families, and middle-income families continues to be critical in most metropolitan areas.

Great shifts of people and changing economic opportunities require long-range co-ordinated approaches and new political institutions and boundary lines to replace outmoded and overlapping jurisdictions. Some 16,000 local

jurisdictions in fewer than 200 metropolitan areas struggle hard to maintain a semblance of orderly growth and to meet increasing demands for public services. To reshape and remold our cities, to clear slums and rehabilitate substandard homes, to improve the quality and patterns of metropolitan living, to provide adequate housing for all families without racially segregated and restricted neighborhoods, will require bold and imaginative measures on a local, regional, and national basis. Comprehensive, long-range planning is urgently needed at every level of government. New governmental units with metropolitan-wide powers must be devised to determine public needs and priorities for the use of public funds and to develop integrated plans for land use, transportation, water supply, control of pollution, and other functions.

A fundamental step in meeting the problems of metropolitan society is a systematic and periodic analysis of its economic development, of population movements, and of industrial expansion. This knowledge is essential to the formulation of responsible public policy for an urban society. There is urgent need to change our governmental structures along regional lines so that they may serve the people more efficiently and deal with public responsibilities which transcend the traditional municipal, county, and state boundaries. A comprehensive, regional approach to area-wide problems such as transportation, water development, and land use cannot be achieved by local jurisdictions.

These metropolitan problems have created a present and future need for trained and competent technicians skilled in political science, economic and social research, social welfare and community organization. Dealing with the rigid patterns of residential segregation demands wide knowledge and skill in human relations. The need for systematic procedures for collecting data about the metropolitan economy is a matter of national importance.

Co-ordination is needed among the many agencies of the Federal Government which are related to urban affairs. Federal leadership is necessary in studying co-ordinated approaches which will enable states and metropolitan areas to deal with mass transportation problems and the conservation of precious land and water resources. Government reports comment on the need for the acquisition of open land to provide reserves for future residential development, industrial expansion, and to make it possible for state and regional bodies to control the rate and character of community development. Since metropolitan areas with their urban and suburban populations now include the great majority of American families and a preponderance of industrial, commercial, and educational resources, a department at the cabinet level in the executive branch should be established so that the resources of the Federal Government can be co-ordinated and directed to aid in their solution.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Affirms the duty of presbyteries and churches to give urgent attention to complex problems of urban living as an inescapable aspect of the church's duty to the civil community;**

**Urges churches and presbyteries to take leadership in arousing citizen interest in such metropolitan problems as co-ordinated planning, neighborhood conservation, urban renewal, and adequate housing for persons of all races and ages, open occupancy for all residential property in cities and suburbs, adequate public education, health services, mass transportation, and open areas for parks and recreation;**

**Supports the establishment of a department of urban affairs and housing in the executive branch of the Federal Government;**

**Encourages able young men and women to seek training and preparation for careers in such fields as planning, community development, housing, social welfare, and politics; and**

**Encourages church members to accept their citizenship responsibility by serving on boards, commissions, and committees in this field when opportunity affords.**

## *COMMENTARY*

The introduction to this section points up the long-range co-ordinated planning and regional development needed to save our cities and to provide the essentials of life for future generations. Much more could have been written about the complicated political problems of metropolitan society—the power struggles in state legislatures still dominated by rural interests, the resistance to county and municipal consolidation, and the battles among the states for new industry and for additional water supplies. The question as to who shall be permitted to own and control land is even more controversial.

Appreciation is expressed to the Committee on Economic Development for continuing studies of metropolitan development which have been invaluable in the church's study of the problems of metropolitan society. It is earnestly hoped that the Federal Government will increase its research in the fundamentals of metropolitan living and give leadership to regional planning bodies.

We are glad that the General Assembly supported the proposal for the establishment of a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing with Cabinet rank.* All members of the President's Cabinet need to give consideration to metropolitan problems, and to work together instead of at cross purposes in dealing with them.

The General Assembly added to the strength and usefulness of this section by approving a recommendation made by Ruling Elder Mrs. Marguerite Martin, of Cleveland Presbytery. Mrs. Martin was the first and only woman commissioner to speak on the floor of the 173d Assembly. Her excellent addition to the pronouncements urged United Presbyterians, in their role as citizens but also as Christians, to participate in the work of zoning and school boards, of planning and public utility commissions, and of civic and welfare organizations. This, indeed, for those who are given the opportunity to serve their communities, is an important dimension of Christian witness and service.

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* The Office of Church and Society presented testimony before the Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organization of the Senate Government Operations Committee in support of such legislation on June 23, 1961.

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**Encourages church members to accept their citizenship responsibility by serving on boards, commissions, and committees in this field when opportunity affords.**

## *COMMENTARY*

The introduction to this section points up the long-range co-ordinated planning and regional development needed to save our cities and to provide the essentials of life for future generations. Much more could have been written about the complicated political problems of metropolitan society—the power struggles in state legislatures still dominated by rural interests, the resistance to county and municipal consolidation, and the battles among the states for new industry and for additional water supplies. The question as to who shall be permitted to own and control land is even more controversial.

Appreciation is expressed to the Committee on Economic Development for continuing studies of metropolitan development which have been invaluable in the church's study of the problems of metropolitan society. It is earnestly hoped that the Federal Government will increase its research in the fundamentals of metropolitan living and give leadership to regional planning bodies.

We are glad that the General Assembly supported the proposal for the establishment of a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing with Cabinet rank.* All members of the President's Cabinet need to give consideration to metropolitan problems, and to work together instead of at cross purposes in dealing with them.

The General Assembly added to the strength and usefulness of this section by approving a recommendation made by Ruling Elder Mrs. Marguerite Martin, of Cleveland Presbytery. Mrs. Martin was the first and only woman commissioner to speak on the floor of the 173d Assembly. Her excellent addition to the pronouncements urged United Presbyterians, in their role as citizens but also as Christians, to participate in the work of zoning and school boards, of planning and public utility commissions, and of civic and welfare organizations. This, indeed, for those who are given the opportunity to serve their communities, is an important dimension of Christian witness and service.

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* The Office of Church and Society presented testimony before the Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organization of the Senate Government Operations Committee in support of such legislation on June 23, 1961.

or destroyed and their persons have been threatened with physical assault, and this because they have exercised their rights as citizens. The question of who "provoked" whom is usually raised in such instances. Not infrequently the onus of blame is placed by local observers not upon those who tried, by threats and violence, to deny the legal and moral rights of others but upon those who were seeking to claim their rights.

The "freedom riders" were claiming their rights to use without discrimination facilities made available to interstate travelers. This right was defined at least a decade ago by the Interstate Commerce Commission, but has neither been claimed nor defended in any significant degree within the Deep South. From the point of view of local white persons the riders "provoked" the mob. From the point of view of the riders, the consistent denial of their rights to equal service "provoked" their ride.

In such a situation the temptation to speak of "the two extremes," and to stand in the middle "between them" is sometimes overwhelming. However, it should be noted that to think of persons or organizations seeking by nonviolent means to claim their *explicit* legal and moral rights as "extreme" is straining at logic and language. If the freedom riders had arrived with guns and knives to wrest their rights by force from a resisting community, to label them as "extremists" might bear some legitimacy. They did not. And the failure of law enforcement officials to protect them bore, in the eyes of the Assembly, at least the coloration of "deliberate failure."

While it is always easier, the farther one is from the scene, to speak prophetically (and this may be one reason why the Assembly is able occasionally to speak more incisively than a local judicatory), recent events of mob violence and the inadequacy of police protection seemed so clear-cut as to make silence on the part of any Christian judicatory virtually indefensible.

The action of the Assembly clearly does two things: (1) calls for local leadership from the church of Christ in defense, if not of the *rights*, at least of the *persons*, of those who are seeking their rights and (2) keeps the church corporately off the untenable "middle ground" between two nonexistent "extremes," in support of those seeking by nonviolent means equal treatment under the law.

### Integrated Witness in the Local Church

It is becoming increasingly difficult for any Christian or church judicatory to verbalize *meaningfully* about the racial practices of local congregations. What is there left to *say*, beyond the same old clichés and truisms?

This deliverance of the General Assembly calls for dramatic *action*. It urges, first, that Christian students of all races again start "kneeling-in" so that more churches will at least be given the opportunity of making a real decision about their racial exclusiveness. In this same connection, it asks churches to leave to God the judgment of the motives of visitors

and to face up to the burden of their own decision.

It suggests, secondly, that church members of different races *consider* the possibility of worshiping together from time to time in racially exclusive churches of their community.

In the third place, it asks that churches *consider* whether God calls them to make a public statement about their openness to Christians of all races. (Such a statement is by no means a universally valid action. For example, some churches have assumed that the act of obedience in a racially mixed community is simply to *invite* by home visitation the residents of that community into worship and membership. To *announce* that their fellowship is open might seem to imply that, prior to that announcement, it was closed. It might also provide an escape hatch for not actually bringing visitors of a different race into the church fellowship.)

In the fourth place, the deliverance seeks to revive involvement of more of our churches in covenants of open occupancy. When the 1956 Assembly called for these covenants, a brief flurry of interest was raised (and the phrase itself came into wide usage among secular agencies). But with a few notable exceptions (for example, First Presbyterian Church, Princeton, New Jersey; First Presbyterian Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan —to name only two) the 1956 call for covenants of open occupancy produced little real activity. The situation has changed considerably in the last five years, and this action of the Assembly expresses the hope that our churches will now, in greater numbers, take more seriously the import of residential segregation for membership in the body of Christ.

## LATIN AMERICA

THE growing importance of Latin America in world affairs emphasizes the relative lack of concern North Americans have shown in understanding and working with the people of that area. The traditional ties of the United States and of most of its people have been with the countries and people of Europe. Geography and history are catching up with us. There is need to expedite the emerging hemispheric pattern of cultural bonds, economic interdependence, and political strategy. The destiny of the United States is increasingly bound with that of our American neighbors to the south.

Throughout the colonial period, Spain and Portugal, and to some extent France and Britain, were the sole sources of Western influence in Latin America. When the Latin-American countries gained their independence early in the nineteenth century, they were opened to influences of various sorts emanating from other countries, but cultural and economic ties to Europe continued to be dominant.

In the present century, however, United States influence has grown to

become the most significant form of Western impact upon Latin America. The United States, commonly referred to by Latin Americans as the "Colossus of the North," has had many and varied contacts with its neighbors to the south, ranging all the way from military invasion and occupation, through cultural and political influences and economic ties, to tourism and trade and technical assistance. The major contacts outside the area for nearly all Latin-American countries are with the United States. In Mexico, for example, the spending of "Yankee" tourists is the fourth largest source of income.

Economic development, both through private and public channels. has become perhaps the most spectacular form of modernizing influence in Latin America in the last decade or two. Since the 1940's technical assistance programs of various kinds have been operating in nearly all parts of Latin America—both bilateral with the United States and multilateral through the United Nations. These programs have been directed chiefly to agriculture, education, public administration, and industrial productivity. Everywhere they have raised the living standard and introduced Western technology.

Tremendous social forces are at work in Latin America, such as the drive for industrialization in underdeveloped agrarian countries, the universal demand for social justice, the revolt against dictatorships, and the resurgence of national pride. One of the most impressive social facts about Latin America today is the fantastic rate of population increase, which is, in continental terms, the highest in the world.

The interdenominational ecumenical mission study theme for 1961–1962 is "Latin America." Study books related to this theme discuss the ties of the churches of this country with those of our neighbor countries to the south. This emphasis on Latin America in the study programs of our churches is most timely.

What Latin Americans think of the United States and its citizens, and why they have come to think that way, is of critical importance. When we discover the image many Latin Americans have of our country and of ourselves, we may be shocked by what we learn, and perhaps we ought to be.

The relations of the United States and its people with Latin America on the whole have been far from perfect. The United States has acted sometimes most unwisely and often very badly in its dealings with its neighbors to the south. The record for the last half century or more includes not a few things we need now to live down.

What the future calls for in United States–Latin-American relations is mutual respect and cultural understanding, and in bringing this about, the United States has much to do. The churches here have an important contribution to make.

The influence of the United States on Latin America, because of our power and wealth and Latin America's need of assistance and encouragement, will continue to be great. The problem is to make it an influence that is creative and mutually beneficial.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Supports governmental and nongovernmental programs to increase mutual and cultural understanding between the people of the United States and the people of Latin America;**

**Encourages United Nations, Inter-American, and United States action to assist in economic and social development, including the encouragement of private capital investments and technical assistance;**

**Recommends that our Government foster co-operative policies and programs among Latin-American countries, such as those developed by the Organization of American States (OAS), and encourage these countries in their efforts to achieve and maintain freedom and responsibility in their governments and economics; and**

**Expresses opposition to attempts to resolve the complex problems of Latin America by external military means and particularly urges our Government to resist pressures toward unilateral military intervention.**

### *Implementation*

Churches can help to improve United States–Latin-American relations by encouraging the following:

1. The study of cultural, religious, social, economic, and political developments in Latin America in informal groups, schools, colleges, programs of adult education; increased emphasis on the teaching of Spanish as a second language.

2. The study in local churches of United Nations and United States cooperative programs for economic and cultural development.

3. The strengthening of courses in colleges and universities dealing with Latin America and the holding of institutes and seminars on United States–Latin-American relations.

4. Efforts to receive Latin Americans who are visiting, working, or studying in the United States into our homes, communities, and churches.

5. Suggestions from the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations regarding our ties with the Christian community of Latin America.

6. A call to prayer for our Christian brethren in Cuba.

## *COMMENTARY*

The introduction to the section on Latin America, the four-point action of the General Assembly, and the suggestions for "implementation" are, we believe, self-explanatory and self-validating. Very little needs to be said by way of additional comment on this section of the General Assembly Pronouncements of 1961.

The statement agrees in nearly all respects with the recommendations submitted by the Counseling Committee on Church and Society, which had the benefit of the work of the Special Subcommittee on International Relations. The major change was the addition of a fourth point in the "action" portion of the pronouncement where the General As-

sembly "expresses opposition to attempts to resolve the complex problems of Latin America by external military means and particularly urges our Government to resist pressures toward unilateral military intervention."

It was understood in the Standing Committee, where this idea was developed, and in the interpretation to the General Assembly that the word "external" refers to military force external to Latin America. It does not rule out action by the Organization of American States in accord with the "Rio Pact" of 1947 or the Charter of the OAS and subsequent agreements guaranteeing the security of the area from outside interference—military and otherwise.

Readers are referred to the March 1961 issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, in which are presented several articles and a wealth of background information about the history and present developments in Latin America. Additional resource and study material is to be found in publications related to the missionary education emphasis on Latin America for 1961–1962. The principal reading and study books for adults are the following:

*Land of Eldorado*, by Sante Uberto Barbieri. Friendship Press, 1961. Paper, $1.50; cloth, $2.95.

*The Quiet Crusaders*, by Henry L. McCorkle. Friendship Press, 1961. Paper, $1.95; cloth, $2.95.

*This Is Latin America*, by Howard W. Yoder. Friendship Press, 1961. Paper, 85 cents.

Particular attention should be given to the implementation portion of the General Assembly statement on Latin America. The six suggestions are timely and important. Especially important is the welcome we extend to persons from Latin America who are studying, visiting, or working in the United States.

## THE CHURCH AND THE PROBLEMS OF ALCOHOL

**The use of alcoholic beverages in our country is widespread and pervasive.**

**We are convinced that the enormity of the problems of alcohol and their growing complexity challenge the churches seriously to study and rethink their proper obligations concerning the moral and ethical aspects of the use of alcoholic beverages and commend to the churches the following considerations.**

### Victims of Alcoholism and Excessive Drinking

**In introducing the following action we wish to emphasize (1) that alcoholism is an illness involving the whole person and his family, (2) that excessive drinking has wide social consequences, and (3) that the victims of alcoholism and of the excessive use of alcohol need the full ministry of the church.**

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Declares its deep concern for alcoholics and excessive drinkers and for their families, and for all who are hurt by the use of alcoholic beverages;**

Calls attention to the training available to those ministering to the victims of alcoholism, asserting as an important aspect of the pastoral ministry of the church all appropriate attempts to help alcoholics in their illness, and to assist their families in their tragedy;

Encourages the use of clinics and other facilities when competently conducted for diagnosis, referral, and treatment of alcoholics during their illness, convalescence, and subsequent activity; and

Urges support for all organizations working effectively to assist alcoholics to recover.

## Social Control

In introducing the following action we wish to emphasize (1) that the modern use of alcoholic beverages is not a simple, uncomplicated matter of the moral judgment of completely free individuals, (2) that drinking is too deeply rooted in the customs of Western society to be changed easily or simply by legal means, (3) that the phenomenon of drinking is related to man's inescapable anxieties, and (4) that significant remedial action must be directed to the social and cultural environment in which man lives.

The 173d General Assembly

Commends all efforts to make alcoholic beverages less attractive as a symbol or as a means of personal and social integration and adjustment;

Urges the study and support of legislation that will enable society to protect itself against the dangers arising from the irresponsible use of alcoholic beverages; and

Calls upon the churches to examine critically their effectiveness in providing the sustaining power of Christian fellowship for those who seek freedom from the powerful forces that foster the use of alcoholic beverages.

## Community Action

In introducing the following action we wish to emphasize (1) that there is a multiplicity of groups dealing with particular problems of alcohol but with little or no co-ordination about their work and (2) that the complexity and interrelatedness of the problems of alcohol demand the integration of efforts on a broad level.

The 173d General Assembly

Urges the church at all levels to make known its concern with the problems of alcohol, to work actively with groups and individuals regularly and responsibly involved in meeting some of these problems, and to seek the co-operation of all concerned persons in developing concerted community efforts.

## Individual Practices

In introducing the following action we wish to emphasize (1) that the use of alcoholic beverages, particularly in our highly interdependent society, is far more than an individual problem, (2) that the use of alcoholic beverages in some situations is an invitation to disaster, (3) that drinking in any situation may have unexpected and unintended results, (4) that the practice of abstinence is imperative under certain conditions and to be encouraged in any situation, (5) that all drinking must be evaluated not in terms of one's right to drink or not to drink, but in the light of Christian responsibility for

**our fellow man in society, and (6) that God confers upon each of us, together with freedom, the obligation to make responsible moral choices.**

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Encourages the practice of voluntary abstinence;**

**Recognizes that there are many persons in our churches who in honesty and sincerity choose to drink moderately, and urges those who so drink and those who abstain to respect each other and constructively work together in dealing with the problems of alcohol; and**

**Unequivocally condemns immoderate drinking as an irresponsible act.**

### *Implementation*

**These principles will be the basis of future programs of alcohol education through the appropriate channels of the Board of Christian Education.**

## *COMMENTARY*

The statement on the problems of alcohol was vigorously discussed and debated both in the Standing Committee and in the General Assembly. A number of amendments were offered, including a proposal to delete a key paragraph in the last section, but these were rejected.

In each of the four sections of the alcohol statement the introductory paragraph is as important as the "deliverance" or "call to action." The introduction in each case states the background or rationale of the pronouncement that follows.

### Victims of Alcoholism and Excessive Drinking

The statement properly begins with an expression of concern for the victims of alcoholism and excessive drinking and for the families of those whose drinking gets them into trouble.

Estimates of the number of alcoholics, both men and women, in the United States range from under four million to nearly six million. These estimates cannot at present be more precise because of new factors in the American health picture, calling into question the famous Jellinek Formula on which calculations of the rates of alcoholism have been based. Indeed, Dr. E. M. Jellinek himself, one of the world's foremost authorities in this field, believes that the formula needs to be revised.

It is fair to say, in any case, that the number of men in this country who are alcoholics may be as low as three million or as high as five million, and that between one million and 1.7 million of these are in the 30 to 45 year age bracket. In this age group in the total population there are approximately 18 million men. This suggests the possibility that among American men 30 to 45 years of age at least *one in eighteen* is an alcoholic, and the ratio may be as high as *one in eleven.*

Even the low rate is astoundingly high, so incredible indeed that the writer of these notes is ready to believe that there is something wrong with the estimates used in the calculations. Whatever the case, alcoholism is far more prevalent and pervasive than many of us have realized,

and that its effect is particularly severe among men in the 30 to 45 year age group, which includes a large proportion of the fathers of our growing children, the wage earners of our homes, and the decision makers of American economic and political life.

There are many definitions and descriptions of the disorder we call alcoholism. It is generally agreed that a person suffers from alcoholism when he uses alcohol to such an extent and in such a way that it interferes with his life (in its physical, psychological, or social aspects) and he is either not able to recognize this effect or is not able to control his drinking even though he knows the disastrous results. Alcoholism is indeed "an illness involving the whole person and his family."

### Social Control

In dealing with the issue of the social control of alcoholic beverages and their use, the statement underscores the too-often-overlooked fact that drinking is deeply rooted in the customs and mores of Western society, and that it cannot be regarded as an isolated phenomenon which can be changed or removed by simple or easy means. Any useful effort to alter the patterns of drinking in our country must take into account the cultural and social setting in which drinking occurs in various and diverse segments of the population. And perhaps even the only workable approaches to control today are those which deal with somewhat discrete and manageable aspects of the complex of problems related to drinking, such as penalties for drunken driving (including the approval of now available and reliable devices for measuring degrees of intoxication) and close regulation of the sale of alcoholic beverages.

### Community Action

With respect to community action, the statement points out that in many communities a number of organizations and institutions, both public and private, are interested in one or another aspect of the problems of alcohol. Often there are more such programs in existence than we realize—ranging from societies concerned with temperance education to referral centers and institutions for the care of alcoholics, and even including, in some places, organized efforts within the industry to reduce the danger and harm of the irresponsible use of alcoholic beverages.

In many of our highly organized American communities, the churches have before them an opportunity—indeed, an obligation—to encourage the co-ordination of local efforts to deal with the problems of alcohol. Perhaps the churches alone, because of the breadth of their concern, would be trusted to take the initiative in exploring the possibilities of mutual understanding and co-operation among the groups working in diverse ways with the problems related to drinking.

### Individual Practices

We come now to the part of the alcohol statement dealing with individual practices. The introductory paragraph suggests certain ethical and social considerations on which the church bases its condemnation of immoderate drinking and its en-

couragement of voluntary abstinence.

A number of persons have questioned the meaning or validity of the statement that the General Assembly "recognizes that there are many persons in our churches who in honesty and sincerity choose to drink moderately, and urges those who so drink and those who abstain to respect each other and constructively work together in dealing with the problems of alcohol." Some have seen in this wording a change of emphasis from "voluntary abstinence" to "moderation" in the use of alcoholic beverages.

The fear that the church was "weakening" its stand against drinking was abetted by a flurry of newspaper accounts which claimed that the United Presbyterian Church had at last "recognized the right" of its members to drink, and that the General Assembly action was the first formal "acknowledgment of the privilege." Apparently most of the troubling news items were based on "wire service" stories in which misleading statements appeared.

Both before and after the General Assembly debate on the alcohol report, representatives of the press were assured (1) that the church was continuing to encourage voluntary abstinence, (2) that in recognizing that many church members choose to drink moderately, the church was not condoning or approving moderate drinking but was simply calling attention to the everywhere obvious fact that many members of our churches do drink moderately and are honest and sincere in this exercise of their freedom under God, and (3) that there are aspects of the problems of alcohol on which we all can and should be working together.

Indeed, a careful reading of the text of the pronouncement permits no more "liberal" interpretation. Many of the newspaper accounts were unfortunate, to say the least, and some of the reactions were hasty, misguided, and uninformed.

Among the problems of alcohol perhaps the most misunderstood and difficult concerns the *causes* of these problems. We are right to give attention to helping alcoholics, but the church must not forget that reducing the causes of alcoholism and other problems related to drinking is the most significant goal to be achieved.

In this connection, the church must learn first to be critical of itself. In the past the church has in effect attempted to absolutize a specific, individual approach to the problems of alcohol. This has tended to become legalistic and tyrannical. The present statement is careful not to prejudice the case by requiring that everyone "abstain" before there can be concerted attention to any of the problems related to drinking. It assumes that a person seriously seeking solutions to the problems of alcohol will find guidance and help in making the ethical decisions necessary to act obediently and responsibly.

The pronouncement seeks to free those who voluntarily choose to abstain from alcoholic beverages, as well as those who in the free exercise of conscience under God choose to drink occasionally and in moderation, from being unjustly labeled. It says that there rests upon all of us in the church an inescapable duty

to use our freedom for the glory of God and the benefit of our fellow men. Users and nonusers alike, we are called to engage together in unrelenting attack upon the abuses of alcohol and the social and individual consequences of these abuses.

So the statement protects our freedom under God, while focusing attention where it should be focused —on the charity with which we are to use our freedom.

We would emphasize again that the phenomenon of drinking is driven by powerful forces we too often fail to understand or to take into account, forces that antedate television, radio, newspapers, profits, and taxes. These contribute to and complicate the problems of alcohol, but there are more basic and compelling causes that must be identified and understood before measures to alleviate drinking can be relevant and effective.

**The statement on the problems** of alcohol approved by the General Assembly in Buffalo provides the basis for a new thrust in alcohol education.

The older approach of sternly moralizing about the evils of alcohol and equating all drinking per se with sin is, we believe, Biblically illiterate, ethically unsound, and logically unconvincing. Harangues against alcohol do more harm than good by confirming the suspicion of those who choose not to abstain that the church has nothing relevant or really challenging to say about the problems related to drinking.

The present statement heralds a new approach in alcohol education and in united action on the problems of alcohol, an approach that is informed by a new understanding of the dimensions and dynamics of the problems, that is ethically sound and that is pragmatically realistic.

## PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZED CRIME

A CHARACTERISTIC of crime is its persistence and pervasiveness in civilized society. In the course of history greed and self-interest have taken many forms; we view with particular concern their manifestations in the changing nature of crime in America. The change is revealed by recent exposures of organized crime which is protected by corrupt officials in politics and law enforcement and by the indifference of most citizens.

Popular concern about crime in our nation is based upon statistical data reflecting rates of increase in reported crimes which exceed the rate of increase in population. This is generally thought of as "the crime problem." As serious as this is, it should be understood that the publicized data deal mostly with traditional crimes and do not expose the insidious growth of organized criminality and racketeering. This is the revolution in the nature of contemporary criminal behavior.

Loss of personal identity and the growing stresses of competitive existence in modern society favor the development of organized criminality. Organization was necessary to secure revenue for protection and to buy immunity from punishment.

A revolution has taken place also within organized crime. We have seen it emerge from the gangster era of violence and wanton destruction to the smoothly operating big business of today with its cadre of administrators, organization men, technicians, and functionaries with large financial resources and corresponding political power at their disposal.

The network of organized crime includes such activities as gambling, prostitution, narcotics, bribery, and extortion. However, gambling is a main source of income of syndicated crime. Thus, each citizen participating in organized gambling, whether it be legalized or not, directly contributes to the complex of activities controlled by crime organizations.

Criminal syndicates and racketeering organizations cannot operate on a wide scale without legal and political protection encouraged by public apathy. Alert and responsible citizens, interested and concerned about government, particularly local government, can help to reduce the activities of these enemies of our society. However, the interstate nature of organized crime and its complexity, its invasion into some sectors of business and labor unions, and the masking of organized crime with the cloak of legitimate operations require effective action on the level of the Federal Government.

Although the criminal must be held accountable for his crime, the responsibility for his criminal action is one in which society in large part shares, particularly a society that exalts money and success. In calling the Christian community to act, we confess our involvement in this society and recognize that our efforts are ultimately under the judgment and grace of God.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Commends the committees of Congress, the Department of Justice, and other agencies of government for their determination to take vigorous action against organized crime;**

**Urges that appropriate recognition be made of the courage and personal sacrifices of public officials who, often under considerable strain, remain honest, faithful, and dedicated servants of their communities, that public office, including law enforcement, be accorded higher recognition, and that salaries be commensurate with responsibilities;**

**Calls upon all citizens to exercise their full voting rights in the interest of honest government and to expose corruption wherever it is found;**

**Reminds church members that engaging in organized gambling directly contributes to the various forms of syndicated crime;**

**Urges that new and imaginative collateral efforts be taken by all branches of government, including law enforcement agencies, so that there may be efficient concerted action against crime in all of its manifestations, including organized crime;**

**Calls upon churches to study structure and mode of action of organized crime and its threat to society with special emphasis on the hidden forms of crime made possible by the abuse of power in strategic positions in government, management, labor, and community; and**

**Urges the Congress to strengthen laws for the protection of citizens from exploitation and to grant appropriate agencies of Federal Government additional powers as may be needed to assist local authorities in their efforts to meet the problem of organized crime.**

## *COMMENTARY*

Syndicated or organized crime has become a major force in the American society. It is interfering with the proper function of our democratic institutions; it is corroding the basic values upon which our society has been founded and threatens directly the traditional structure and legal foundations of the state. Because of the enormously complex economic structure of modern society, crime assumes today rather unusual forms and most often hides behind the mask of conventional respectability and legality. Like an iceberg its vast masses are beneath the surface, invisible to the average citizen. Nevertheless, it pervades nearly every aspect of everyday life.

Evidence supporting these conclusions is abundant and is available in the form of well-documented studies and in the records of Congressional investigations. They are affirmed by an opinion of a deputy chief of the former Attorney General's Special Group on Organized Crime, which was established in April, 1958, and disbanded on July 1, 1959: "The crime syndicate in America is one of today's stark realities. . . . It's a big interstate business, far better organized than our law enforcement machinery, . . . and no police agency, state or Federal, is now designed to fight it."

The single clearly defined goal of syndicate crime is the exploitation of society by all possible means, both legal and illegal. Since it is not participating in the productive processes, it drains about 20 billion dollars annually from the national economy and thereby depresses living standards and increases inflation. Its corruption of morals is well known. The criminal organization is in full and effective control of the exploitation and promotion of all major vices, such as gambling, use of narcotics, and prostitution. It exerts its power by the shrewdest and most devious and ruthless methods, including commissioned murder, and it is continuing to grow unchecked because it has paralyzed the law by corruption and by allying itself with many politicians. Repeated Congressional investigations have revealed much about its leaders, its organizational structure, and its mode of operation. The net result of these investigations has been minimal, mainly because of the lack of broad and relentless public support for concerted action on the wide front.

For some, these facts are significant symptoms of the progressive decay of American democracy. They

are the characteristic signs of a "post-Christian" era with its self-destructive overevaluation of material gains. The development is made possible largely by the apathy and indifference of the masses and by the abrogation by the citizenry of its constitutional rights and responsibilities.

The immunity of organized crime from prosecution is the result of its enormous wealth and exact knowledge of the power structure of society, which enables it to control or at least manipulate some key positions in political and labor organizations. It derives sufficient protection by controlling a small minority of unscrupulous opportunists who, unfortunately, have special talent in acquiring such key positions. The syndicate is safe despite the fact that it will never succeed in bribing every official, because the incorruptible official is often isolated, without the support of an organization, and hence powerless. The second effective defense of organized crime is to be found in certain deficiencies of the penal codes.

In view of this situation the church cannot remain silent. It can deal with these diabolical operations of the syndicate where it is weak, namely, by allying itself with the honest official and giving him the strength to fight which alone he cannot have. The church also has the responsibility of arousing the public and encouraging the necessary changes in the law.

New measures, proposed by the Department of Justice and the Attorney General, to combat syndicated crime include:

- Prohibition of interstate travel in support of racketeering.
- Prohibition of obstructing investigations or interfering with witnesses.
- Extension of the Federal Firearms Act.
- Prohibition of interstate use of wire communications for betting.
- Prohibition of interstate shipment of gambling materials.
- Immunity for certain witnesses in labor-management racketeering cases.
- Extension of the Fugitive Felon Act.
- Prohibition of interstate gambling machine shipments.

## THE CHURCH AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The personal, family, and other environmental factors related to the prevention and treatment of delinquency in children and young people are complex and difficult to identify.

While as Christians we are forced to recognize that the fundamental mystery of human perversity can never be fully comprehended, it would not be honest for the church to indict society for the specious values and goals which contribute to delinquency without confessing its own involvement in the problem. Some churches have, in fact, contributed to the climate in which delinquency can thrive by retreating from the inner city

and its social disorganization, by racial exclusiveness in worship and ministry, by being aloof to the problems and burdens of the economically deprived, by self-righteousness which denies common responsibility and common guilt.

As the church continues to deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency, it is obvious that we must be aware of our own past shortcomings and our own involvement in the problems of our culture. It is imperative that we recognize more fully the dimensions of faithfulness to which God calls us. It is not possible to minister to juvenile delinquents without concern for the whole environment in which delinquency occurs, and study of and co-operation with secular agencies concerned with the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the apprehension, adjudication, and rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. Since thorough knowledge of economic and social pressures which contribute to delinquency is essential, the church, in ministering to individual juvenile delinquents, should do so in full awareness of the common goals and patterns of our society.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Calls upon the individual members of the churches to re-evaluate their own roles in either unintentionally fostering or actively preventing delinquency;**

**Calls upon appropriate agencies of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to work together with men and women in churches and church-related institutions in developing united approaches and strategies in dealing with the problems of youth and in preventing and treating delinquent behavior, and to make full use of the guidance provided by the pronouncements of General Assembly;**

**Calls upon the churches and judicatories to evaluate public education, including the field of special education, and the adequacy of school curriculums and approaches to the needs of youth;**

**Calls upon churches and judicatories to evaluate present opportunities for meaningful employment of young people in our society;**

**Calls upon churches to co-operate with youth-serving agencies in their communities and in other ways to work for the prevention of juvenile delinquency;**

**Calls upon the churches and judicatories to study, evaluate, and take appropriate action to improve laws, procedures, and agencies concerned with apprehending, adjudicating, and rehabilitating juvenile offenders with particular reference to enforcement, court and probationary procedures, diagnostic and treatment centers, training schools, and correctional institutions; and**

**Calls to the attention of churches and judicatories the importance of compassion and concern for young people in trouble, particularly those who have been released from correctional institutions, and the development of measures which will gain community acceptance, employment, and re-establishment of supporting family relationships.**

Delinquency is a symptom—a sign that something is wrong. Many persons believe that nothing at all can be done about the problem. Some believe that if you wait long enough, the problem will right itself. Others believe that it is time to critically examine the structures of our society and on the basis of these findings take appropriate and needful action.

This is what the church is being called upon to do. The challenge is to participate in the process of looking at some of the basic institutions of our society—governmental, economic, family, educational, and religious. Each major social institution not only must be willing to reevaluate its own role in promoting the general welfare, but it also must be open to the understanding of others concerning the issues of human life and ways of dealing with them.

In a recent discussion concerning the problem of juvenile delinquency, someone asserted that the church sometimes contributes to the problem. It shocked some who heard it. Yet it is nevertheless true that all our actions have unexpected and unintended results. We need to look at these results to discover if they are contributing in any way to the problem. Also, if it is true that "the problem represents in many aspects the absence of Christian love . . . in this sense, it is the church's own sins of omission and commission which allow the complex causes of delinquency to continue to exist."

Many people have been looking at the problem in this light. They are saying some things about the ministry of the church in relation to the church's serving predelinquent and delinquent children and in reducing the causes of their problems. We need to listen to them. Here is what some are saying:

1. The clergy of the church is poorly prepared through seminary or postgraduate study for the tremendous counseling ministry needed by parents of preadolescents and adolescent children. Most ministers are not equipped to help families face their problems squarely. They do not have at hand information as to agencies within the community which can provide help and guidance.

2. Most pastors are unaware of the many persons within their congregations who are connected with programs of family service, welfare, and juvenile care and who can be of help in this ministry.

3. Most churches lack any sense of Christian responsibility for or inclination toward seeing that the community in which they are situated provides adequate services for predelinquents and delinquents.

4. Most United Presbyterian churches are reluctant to take leadership in their communities to see that some of the most basic causes of delinquency are corrected—poor and segregated housing, job discrimination, inadequate juvenile courts and probation services, outdated detention and training centers.

5. The church is not presently financially able to employ the specially trained personnel needed to

work with predelinquent or delinquent individuals or groups.

6. The church does not demonstrate a conviction that it has the answer to youth's fundamental questions: Who am I? Why am I here? Does life have any meaning?

At the time when youth are searching most eagerly for answers to life's urgent problems, for a sense of belonging, for acceptance as they are, for independence, the United Presbyterian Church, by and large, says to them: "We want you in our fellowship if you will conform. We're anxious to have you study the Word of God, but our leaders haven't time to make it relevant. You'll have to make the application. Be sure you dress right when you come or you won't be welcome. We built the education wing for children because they are the hope of the future, but you cannot use that room that looks like an inviting living room because it's been furnished by the adults for their use. We want you to have fun, but don't be too boisterous and don't scratch the floors, mar the paint, or break any furniture. We want you to learn to worship and sing God's praises as the great church fathers did. They found the only true way. You may want to experiment, but the great old prayers, litanies, and hymn tunes are the ones you must use.

"We want you to feel that you are a real part of the church. You can help in the office and nursery, scrub the floors, and paint the chairs (once), but you really aren't responsible enough to lead younger children or help in the service of worship or serve on important committees."

At a time when youth are seeking answers, we tend to give them ours rather than help them find the answers for themselves.

## THE CHURCH AND HEALTH CARE FOR THE AGING

THE twentieth century has seen great increase in the number of older people in our nation, and in life expectancy for men and women. In the long perspective of human history, the lengthening of the life span has been a triumph over man's enemy, disease. There have been undreamed advances in medical science and living standards. These advances and population changes have far-reaching effects on families and communities, and have challenged our present concepts about older persons and their place in our society.

The three leading causes of death—heart disease, cancer, and cerebral hemorrhage—are the targets of unceasing research efforts, but the high incidence of chronic illness with advancing age contributes greatly to the problem of medical care for older persons. According to the National Health Survey, the rate of chronic illness (such as heart disease, cancer, diabetes, arthritis, etc.) among the aged is more than double that for

younger groups, those under 45 years of age, 77 per cent versus 34 per cent.

Adequate medical care for the aged of the United States has too often been overlooked and neglected by the church, the general public, and, indeed, by certain parts of the health profession itself. The problem of providing adequate health care for older persons is complicated also by the fact that many older people have low incomes. Although methods for determining exact income status are not precise, by most measurements 50 to 60 per cent of the people 65 years and over do not have more than $1,000 a year cash income. Five per cent of this group have no income from employment or public programs. Four out of five receive income from public programs. The old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program pays benefits to 66 per cent of this age group. A million more are eligible to receive benefits whenever they retire.

The National Health Survey shows the relationship between family income and chronic illness, by age—with the lowest income aged experiencing the greatest proportions of chronic conditions. As one concrete example, among those individuals aged 75 and over, and with a family income of less than $2,000, the proportion with one or more chronic conditions is 87 per cent, as compared with 80 per cent for the 75-plus population with a family income of more than $7,000. In the total aged population, the rate is 77 per cent.

The National Health Survey during July-December, 1959, interviewed 19,000 households with 62,000 persons, including well over 5,000 persons aged 65 and older, to study what proportion of the aged have health insurance coverage and the adequacy of the insurance. The over-all findings indicated:

> Two thirds of the general population is protected against all or some of the costs of hospitalization through insurance, but less than one half of the aged are so protected. Voluntary insurance plans have gained enormous support in the last five years. These meet the needs of working people reasonably well, but they may not be adequate for retired persons living on smaller incomes. Less than one third of the population aged 75 and over is covered by any degree of hospital insurance, less than one fourth by surgical insurance.

It is noteworthy that the cost of health care and consequently of health insurance is rising so rapidly as to make it difficult for the average family to afford adequate coverage for its comprehensive health needs. While some 73 per cent of the American people have some form of health insurance, nonetheless, only 25 per cent of the total private medical expenditures are paid from such insurance.

These and other studies indicate the limitations of individual resources of retired older persons and the burdens that children face in caring for their elderly parents. These burdens are financial, physical, and emotional.

Even with the greatest concern and love that families may show, the burdens and strains cannot be minimized.

The problem of providing a high level of health care for older persons is so exceedingly complex that many approaches are proposed including: the personal responsibility of individuals, concern of children for their parents who cannot care for themselves, voluntary health insurance, expanded Social Security, old-age assistance for needy and near-needy persons, aid of religious and fraternal groups. In evaluating any or all of these options in a free society the church should support those proposals which best meet human needs and advance the blessings and values of positive health so that human life may be extended in dignity and creative, useful activity.

Modern medical practice in geriatrics should attempt to avoid a "custodial" concept of medical care, which provides only a minimal physical survival of the human organism, and the treatment of men and women only after they have become acutely or catastrophically ill or in pain. We should, instead, encourage the use of preventive medicine which means, among other things, regular health examinations and diagnostic services. Modern medical care should strive to keep people out of hospitals, and medical care insurance might well provide for many of these services on an outpatient basis.

The General Assembly in 1946 recorded its concern for the health of the aging through the following statement:

> The Christian should manifest active concern in the failure of society to marshal its full resources for health for all people. In countless cases, health is denied because of the lack of funds by the individual in need of medical services and the lack of medical resources. In the name of the Great Physician we favor Federal legislation that will join appropriate civic, professional, and other bodies, in co-operation with government, in providing the means for adequate medical care wherever needed. (1946, p. 210.)

Since this statement was made, the Federal Government has actively entered this field. In 1960 Congress passed the Kerr-Mills bill as an approach to this problem. This legislation authorizes the states, with Federal funds as well as their own, to furnish full medical care to all needy and near-needy citizens over sixty-five, including hospital and nursing home care, drugs, services of physicians and specialists as required on proof of their need. Some states have adopted its provisions and several others are considering the adoption of its provisions. The Congress has considered and undoubtedly will consider other legislation in this area.

The statement of the General Board of the National Council of Churches of February 22, 1961, on the "Economics of Medical Care for the Aged" and other available pertinent information from the medical profession and other groups have indicated the divergent views held by the various groups

in our country. These emphasize the church's role in helping to find the most effective means for providing adequate health care for the aging.

**The 173d General Assembly**

**Calls upon the boards and administrators of United Presbyterian homes and other services for the aged to expand and improve these services and to provide adequate care for those who are ill and infirm;**

**Directs attention to the necessity for considering multiple approaches to the health problems of retired older persons, including extended prepayment insurance benefits under private auspices, expanded Social Security legislation, Federal assistance to the states for more adequate care for older persons in need, and improved privately sponsored facilities and services;**

**Calls upon members of the medical profession and other health workers to co-operate in developing the means by which these approaches can be used to improve the health of America's older citizens to enhance standards of care and doctor-patient relationships, and to assure uniform provision for care in all the states on a nondiscriminatory basis.**

**Requests the Office of Church and Society to continue its study of the health needs of our aging population and the means for meeting them, including present medical services, insurance programs, and other medical assistance available through governmental channels in consultation with members of the medical profession, hospital administrators, the insurance industry, and other concerned groups.**

(*It should be noted that the above recommendations neither support nor oppose proposals for the extension of Social Security to provide medical care for the aging.*)

## *COMMENTARY*

Americans have been sharply divided on the issue of medical care for the aged and on the role of the Federal Government in dealing with the problem. Similar divisions of opinions were vigorously expressed in the General Assembly and in the Standing Committee. The report finally approved by the General Assembly was essentially "fence-straddling," as several newspapers pointed out. In the thinking of the Standing Committee members who worked on this section, Social Security mechanisms should be approved only if other private and state and local governmental measures were shown to be inadequate.

A factor not to be overlooked in the debate was the influence of the American Medical Association. Before and during the Assembly, commissioners and the Office of Church and Society received telephone calls and letters from AMA members, urging the General Assembly not to approve Social Security mechanisms for medical care. Some commissioners received a half-dozen or so letters while they were at the General Assembly. These mailings opposed the extension of Social Security for health care on the grounds that it would "weaken the moral fiber" of the nation and "destroy" the Social Security system. There was strong

opposition to the action of the General Board of the National Council of Churches on February 22, 1961, which "supported in principle" legislation to extend the benefits of old-age, survivors, and disability insurance to include adequate health care for retired aged persons.

The Office of Church and Society received upward of two hundred letters from AMA members from all parts of the country opposing such legislation as "a foot in the door to the complete socialization of medicine." A great majority of the letters expressed concern about the church "mixing in politics" and dealing with ideas that are contrary to American concepts of individual freedom and free enterprise. Many of them quoted the same verse of Scripture (I Tim. 5:8)—a singular coincidence, suggesting either a high degree of Biblical familiarity among physicians or some central source of reference.

General Assembly action does request continued study of the health needs of older persons by the Office of Church and Society. A committee chaired by Dr. Paul Wright is already at work in the Synod of Oregon on a broad study of the problems of the aging. Plans are projected for a series of consultations with physicians, social workers, administrators of hospitals and homes, and insurance men, all of which will give the church greater understanding of the real issue—how elderly persons can be cared for when they are ill and infirm.

In all probability, hearings will be held by the House Ways and Means Committee on health benefits for the aging before Congress adjourns. As national debates continue, SOCIAL PROGRESS readers should be informed about: (1) the King-Anderson bills, which would extend Social Security coverage for hospitalization and nursing care (no drugs or physicians' fees included) for retired persons; (2) the benefits of the Kerr-Mills amendments to the Social Security Act which will increase Federal grants to states to provide all necessary medical care for elderly persons without means to pay for it; and (3) the need for many approaches and instrumentalities. The combined programs of private agencies, of state, local, and Federal agencies; the efforts of families; and the improved medical programs of private insurance companies are needed to meet the health needs of the elderly with compassion and adequacy.

## Action of the General Assembly

### Concerning Labor-Management Relations

In 1959 the 171st General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America made a pronouncement on collective bargaining which stated, in part, that "union membership as a basis of continued employment should be neither required by law nor forbidden by law."

The Presbytery of Omaha in its stated meeting on January 17, 1961, overtured the General Assembly "to reconsider this matter, that it may possibly remove the present commitment against laws requiring or forbidding compulsory unionism."

The subcommittee has reconsidered the issue on labor-management relations and recommends "no action."

Studies are now under way in the entire field of labor-management relations and will be continued under the auspices of the Counseling Committee.

We feel that the 1959 pronouncement dealt clearly and fairly with the issue of collective bargaining. The General Assembly that year expressed "its confidence in collective bargaining as the most responsible and democratic way of resolving issues in labor-management relations."

This brings up the issue related to "closed shop," "union shop," and "open shop." Closed shop practices are already prohibited by Federal laws. We feel that the 171st General Assembly was correct in recommending that the question of union shop or other maintenance-of-membership arrangements should be settled by collective bargaining (and not by the force of government) which meets the basic requirements for responsible and democratic negotiation. And we feel the General Assembly would be ill advised in taking an action which would be widely interpreted as recommending state legislation which makes open shop compulsory.

We feel that the term "right-to-work" is not accurate as described in this overture, and that the term "compulsory open shop" is a more exact description of the legislation in question. Compulsory open shop legislation interposes the power of state government to produce in that state a compulsory open shop in all industries, regardless of their size or nature.

The absence of compulsory open shop legislation permits management and union in each industry to bargain collectively and work out voluntarily the arrangement that is a workable compromise between their respective interests.

There are really two questions involved: (1) Shall union and management *together* mutually decide the outcome of the collective bargaining process, or shall the government predetermine the outcome by making an open shop compulsory (which is what right-to-work does)? (2) Beyond protecting both employer and employees from gangsterism, communism, kickbacks, racketeering, misuse of funds, and other forms of corruption, shall the state prohibit the kind of union-management contract (i.e., working conditions, wages, etc.) that the collective bargaining agents can agree upon?

The 171st General Assembly answered by implication the first question in the affirmative and the second in the negative. This Committee agrees and recommends "no action" on Overture 8.

**The 173d General Assembly voted "no action."**

# *Report of the Special Committee on National Purpose*

**As adopted by the 173d General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.**

IN DIRECTING the appointment of this Committee, the 172d General Assembly declared:

**Recognizing that our nation was founded on the belief that man's inalienable rights are derived from God the Creator, and that out of this faith came a national purpose which affirmed justice, domestic tranquility, the common defense, and the promotion of the welfare, liberty, and unity of the people;**

**Recognizing also that there is a deepening crisis in American life due to a growing confusion between the beliefs we still profess as a people and the values we actually live by, which has resulted in an erosion of personal integrity and public conscience and in the receding of our impelling and unifying sense of high national purpose; and**

**Believing that a task of high priority before the American people is the redefinition and reassertion of our nation's goals;**

**The 172d General Assembly**

**Believes that the American people should become aware of the growing crisis in our culture that demands a bold acceptance of new duties in contrast to a superficial and irrelevant moralism;**

**Calls upon the church to fulfill its mission to the civil community by a prophetic involvement in the redefinition of a national purpose and of the values that have undergirded our common life. . .**

The action of the 172d General Assembly is one evidence of, and in part a response to, a deepening disquiet among the American people with respect to the "National Purpose."

The work of the President's Commission on National Goals, a spate of articles in magazines and newspapers, and widespread discussion reflect a similar concern about the state of health of the body politic, its culture, and its common life.

Such self-preoccupation is itself a disturbing symptom. Only when a people are unsure of themselves, when they confront a cleft in the corporate consciousness, or sense confusion, infirmity, and paralysis in the corporate will do they turn in upon themselves to search out the causes of their discomfort and question their own purposes. On the other hand, such self-examination is also a hopeful sign. It reveals a recognition of need and a desire for a recovery or redefinition of national unity and national destiny. Awareness of illness may be the first step toward the restoration of health. Moreover, the response in recent months to the call to service for needy peoples confirms the latent readiness of American youth for sacrificial dedication.

The purpose of this Report:

I. To examine the nature of the malady.

II. To discover in what respects, if at all, the condition has its source in factors which are the special concern of the Christian churches.

III. To indicate the implications of National Purpose for today.

IV. To propose the appropriate response of Christians and the church.

## I. The Nature of the Malady

Close examination of the wealth of writing and speaking on the topic of "National Purpose" discloses a contradiction.

On the one hand, it is widely assumed that the American people's present disquiet springs from a "loss" of or at least doubt as to the principles and goals of national existence.

On the other hand, almost without exception the discussions affirm that the United States *has* a "National Purpose," that it is set forth clearly and definitively in the founding documents, and that these familiar and revered declarations are as valid and mandatory today as they were at the nation's birth:

**We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. —That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.**

And that the purpose of the American Government is:

**to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.**

Questions may be raised as to the adequacy of these declarations, framed more than a century and a half ago in the context and language of a youthful, small, isolated, and relatively homogeneous nation, to direct a vast and heterogeneous populace confronting the utterly different problems of a great world power. The principles of the "Founding Fathers," though admirable as statements of basic objectives, provide insufficient guidance amidst the tangled issues which today confuse and confound the American people. These principles must be supplemented and their implications defined in every generation.

Nevertheless, the contradiction points to a basic deficiency in diagnosis. It suggests that the ailment which afflicts the American people at this time does *not* arise primarily from uncertainty as to national aims, but from causes which lie deeper in the national life.

Over and over again it is being affirmed with wearisome reiteration: the American people's problem is not that they lack a definition of objectives, but that these no longer supply a conviction of mission, a sense of destiny, and a unified will leading to action.

This points to the nature of the present sickness:

**There is a deepening crisis in American life due to a growing confusion between the beliefs we still profess as a people and the values we actually live by, which has resulted in an erosion of personal integrity and public conscience and in the receding of our impelling and unifying sense of high national purpose. (172d General Assembly)**

Here we confront the heart of the matter—the inconsistency, contradiction between "the beliefs we still profess" and "the values we actually live by"—the things we hope for and fear, the things we aspire toward and recoil from, the largely unconscious values that tip the scales of decision in our private and public conduct, our personal behavior, and our corporate policy.

The radical contradictions in the common life were set forth by the National Council of Churches' Assembly last December:

**This nation has allowed the sins of prejudice and discrimination to flourish. Persons are still denied full rights of citizenship and access to opportunities for education, employment, and housing because of their race. We have witnessed shocking violations of public trust. In some of our great cities persons elected or appointed to posts of "public service" have used these positions to prey upon the public and to take advantage of their fellow citizens. Despite the expansion of education, we have seen an alarming rise of anti-intellectualism which not only handicaps the work of teachers, artists, and scholars, but also threatens the sovereignty of truth and the rule of reason in our society. The pace of change has produced cynicism and the worship of false gods. By our admiration of status-seekers, we have weakened the claims of excellence and individual integrity and have denied the Christian affirmation that he who is greatest among us shall be the servant of all. By relaxation of standards of family integrity, by neglect of the duties of parents toward children and of children toward parents, by carelessness in the fulfillment of these personal fidelities in which family life is rooted, we have undermined the foundations of our common life.**

Within the community is the individual. A nation's character is largely dependent upon the character of its citizens. That there is corrosion and disease in the moral life of the American people few would question. There is overwhelming evidence of our lack of personal morality in mounting alcoholism, increasing drug addiction, spreading juvenile delinquency, multiplying marriage failures, sexual license and illegitimacy. Moreover, on every side we find lack of personal integrity, exploitation of the ignorant and the weak by the clever and the strong, distortion of truth, and disregard of law. Perhaps the most alarming symptom is the dearth of public indignation concerning this moral decay. Small wonder the American people are afflicted with uncertainty, indecision, and impotence of corporate will.

At once we are brought hard up against matters which are the special concern and the specific responsibility of the churches. More than that; they expose the failure of the churches in their primary duty to the nation.

## II. The Concern of the Churches

The attribution of the national malaise to "too little religion" is too facile an explanation and the prescription of "return to religion" is too superficial a panacea. It is precisely at the moment of largest adherence to religious loyalties and religious institutions in its history that the nation's life is marked by a disintegration in moral and ethical behavior. The "return to religion" in our day has produced no corresponding moral fruitage. On the contrary, while the curve of religious

interest has been rising, that of moral health has been falling. Here is the most profound contradiction in our national existence—steadily rising attention to religion; steadily declining ethical practice.

Not "too little religion," but double-minded religion, its divorce from practice, is our sickness. This fact is a judgment upon the churches and the religion they have been content to foster. And it is a direct challenge to the churches, an insistent imperative upon their attention and their action—most particularly, those churches which stand in the Reformed tradition. For that tradition affirms a divine Sovereignty which embraces equally the lives of individuals and the destiny of communities. It declares the reality and regnancy of God's righteousness which judges both the relations of persons and the relations of peoples. It knows, both from its certitude of God's rule and from the testimony of history, that character constitutes an indispensable ingredient for communal health. Only within a body politic committed to ethical dedications and impregnated by integrity of practice can sound purposes be either rightly defined or effectively fulfilled.

As Mr. John Foster Dulles declared:

**The founders of this nation . . . were, for the most part, persons of deep religious faith. Our nation was founded by men who believed there was a divine Creator . . . , that religion and morality are the great pillars of human happiness and that morality cannot prevail in exclusion of religious principles. . . . Our greatest need is to regain confidence in our spiritual heritage.**

The church dare not evade its duty to bring home to the nation these truths essential for its well-being.

But it must move beyond the declaration of the moral conditions for national health and attempt to spell out obligations implicit in an adequate National Purpose for our day.

### III. Implications of National Purpose for Today

Historically, nations have based their policies mainly upon the assumed twin necessities of national survival and the preservation or enhancement of the quality of life existing within the nation. In extremity, sheer national survival has tended to assume priority over, even to eclipse, all other values. Implicit in the oath of office taken by our national officials is the commitment to defend our country's national existence and the welfare of its people. The world being what it is, we recognize the inevitability of this commitment.

However, even those not acknowledging the existence of a sovereign God whose judgments are "true and righteous altogether" recognize that the long sweep of history has been thus far unkind to nation states that have subordinated all other considerations to their own continued existence.

As Christians we believe it is our responsibility, in the light of the revelation in Jesus Christ, to enlarge our country's concept of the ingredients of survival, to expand its understanding of the quality of life which is worth defending, and to suggest the direction in which it should move toward these goals.

In today's world we do not argue

with the commitment to maintain our nation's military strength. We are convinced, however, that the unfinished business of freedom and justice in our common life is an imperative in the task of survival; more than that, it is an essential element of the quality of life God desires for us and for all people.

The Civil War was fought, at least in part, to test whether a national community "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . . can long endure." The validity of such a concept is once again being put to the test—this time on a world scale. Meanwhile we have not achieved either in our public policy or in our private behavior that liberty, equality, and justice which we believe belongs by God-given right to all human beings.

The processes employed in the quest of these achievements are as important as the goals themselves. Conflict and controversy are inevitable in all human associations, particularly in a free society where differences are allowed to express themselves without being stamped out by coercion. But the ways in which conflicts are resolved are crucial. Sincere efforts to adopt policies enhancing our way of life have not only precipitated legitimate debate; they have also been occasions for irresponsible charges and acrimonious allegations. Americans can ill afford the luxury of carelessly and recklessly impugning the motives or questioning the loyalty of their fellow Americans. Not only must we get on with the unfinished business of a free society; we must debate and decide the alternatives before us with vigor but without recriminations.

No less important is our capacity to absorb rapid social change, and respond positively to it. Our forefathers met the challenge of a geographical frontier with courage and initiative. Today the challenges are different—exploding population, expanding technology, a deepening complexity of social, political, and economic relations. They require of us a new brand of courage and initiative. The paralysis of nerve that all too easily issues from the fear of an unknown future will give way to expectancy and enthusiasm when our people are challenged to accept the risks of adventure as men on the march to freedom.

Our country's place in the world community of nations is radically different from that envisioned by our Founding Fathers. We cannot live to ourselves or die to ourselves. We are inextricably involved in leadership and responsibility in an interdependent world.

We cannot, in any unilateral sense, export freedom. At the same time, the hard-learned and costly lessons of liberty that are ours we should stand ready to share with any nation at its request, in order that it may develop its own indigenous institutions and processes according to its peculiar needs. Our goal cannot be merely the preservation of our resources, nor the wasteful disposition of our assets. At the same time, our obligation must express itself in concrete deeds, not to reproduce the "American Way of Life" among peoples who neither desire it nor are capable of it, but to assist them in meeting their urgent necessities and in fulfilling their own hopes.

## IV. The Role of Christians and the Church

Each Christian has his part as a responsible citizen. The National Purpose will not be followed unless the individuals who make up our nation develop certain essential characteristics and attitudes. It is thus essential that every *American*

- adopt personal integrity and morality as a part of his code of life and rise in indignation against public acceptance of immoral and dishonest practices;
- accept his obligation to do his job, whatever that job may be, to the best of his ability—thereby engaging in the pursuit of excellence—and urge others to do the same;
- make his private interests subservient to the public good;
- express appreciation for his country's accomplishments and impatience with its faults;
- uphold an orderly society where men can think and act with reason and not in response to mob psychology; and
- think and act with concern and compassion for his fellow men, in America and elsewhere.

But each *Christian* citizen has the further responsibility to clarify his own thinking on the true foundations of national well-being, to declare those principles to a nation largely indifferent to them, to hold his nation's policies and conduct under judgment of God's purposes in so far as he can discern them, and to enlist his energies at the points of his nation's most urgent need. This is a specific call to every church member to fulfill his Christian obligation in the present quest for "National Purpose."

For many Christians, especially but not solely those with life still largely before them, this call comes with a far more urgent and costly personal command: to the enlistment of self in life-commitment in behalf of God's peoples both here and in distant lands. More than a century ago, through the vision and dedication of young American Christians, there began an outpouring of life to the ends of the earth which knows no parallel, which has borne the Christian concern for health of body, enlightenment of mind, and enrichment of spirit to every continent and almost every nation and tribe—anticipation and pathfinder of the multiplying Government and private programs of today. The most insistent summons to Christians in this hour of confusion and crisis is a fresh response to divine call and human necessity wherever it is found.

Finally, the church cannot expect of the nation greater integrity, deeper honesty, more sacrifice than it manifests in its own life.

If the church is to be faithful to its Lord, it must be a witness to his truth as involving every aspect of personal character, every facet of man's relationship to man, as well as man's relationship to God.

# About Books

***The United Nations and U.S. Foreign Policy: A New Look at the National Interest,*** by Lincoln P. Bloomfield. Little, Brown & Co., 1960. 276 pp. with index. Paper, $4.75.

This is a study from the United Nations Project Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Bloomfield has been serving as Director of the UN project. The present important book is addressed to the question: What is the American national interest with respect to the United Nations as we go into the 1960's? The book concentrates on the large political aspects of UN policy rather than on its technical or administrative aspects. The underlying thesis is that a better understanding of the general strategic connection between U.S. policy imperatives and UN potentialities—and limitations—"is the indispensable basis for reconsidering what relevant uses this important world instrumentality may have for American and free world interests in the period ahead."

The five sections of the book deal with: (1) the United Nations and the national interest, (2) the United Nations and national security, (3) the United Nations and the cold war, (4) toward a more stable world, (5) the goal of world order.

Dr. Bloomfield believes that the United States should undertake now the formation of a legal community consisting of those nations ready and willing to live under a common rule. There is no hope now for a breakthrough into true world community; but there is before us the imperative of international experiments of community that are as inclusive as possible.

***An Atlas of Africa,*** by J. F. Horrabin. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1960. 126 pp. with index. Paper, $1.45; cloth, $3.50.

This is one of the most intriguing and useful books we have ever seen. It consists of fifty well-drawn maps of Africa, or of parts of Africa, or of the world in which Africa is a part, each map illustrating a phase of African history or an aspect of African life, and each map is accompanied by a page or two of a very well written explanatory text. So we have here maps and texts describing Africa before the "scramble," ancient Egypt, first steps from barbarism, Phoenicians and Greeks in Africa, the Romans in Africa, the coming of Islam, the Arab Empire, the kingdoms of Western Sudan, Western European rediscovery of Africa, the slave trade, explorers and missionaries, the Dutch trek north, diamonds and gold. Other map-text presentations deal with trouble spots in modern Africa, from Rhodes to Welensky, Portugal in Africa, the home of apartheid, new states, the countries of the Nile, Colonel Nasser's vision. Still other maps and texts deal with issues and

problems such as the need for settlers, the problem of language, the problem of transport, the opening up of the Sahara, and the problem of water and water power.

***The Nation's Safety and Arms Control,*** by Arthur T. Hadley. The Viking Press, Inc., 1961. 160 pp. $3.00.

The author of this disturbing book has been the News Development Editor of the *New York Herald Tribune.* The present book is the result of the author's participation in a Summer Study conference in 1960 dealing with arms control. The text combines knowledge and judgment of experts—physicists, military men, scholars, statesmen. This is a cross section of the men who will determine our policy in the years ahead.

Mr. Hadley describes our present position in a supernuclear age. He then discusses the moves necessary to improve the stability in the world. He concludes by taking a deep and careful look at the kind of basic, controlled arms limitation that makes sense in the present world and holds the promise of a livable future.

***The Edge of Freedom,*** by John B. Oakes. Harper & Brothers, 1961. 130 pp. $3.50.

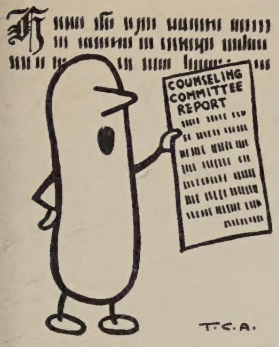
This useful and readable book is "a report on neutralism and new forces in Sub-Saharan Africa and Eastern Europe." It is a firsthand analysis of the dynamic forces that are asserting themselves in the newer nations of tropical Africa and in some parts of Eastern Europe, particularly Poland and Yugoslavia. The author is a well-known member of the Editorial Board of *The New York Times.*

The book is based on recent visits to Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria, the Congos, Kenya, and Rhodesia, as well as to Poland and Yugoslavia.

In discussing the new role of neutralism in today's world, the author describes it as a "growing point of contact among countries of widely divergent ideologies" that are trying to avoid political or economic alignment with either East or West in the cold war struggles of the decade. Mr. Oakes dares to believe that this tendency toward neutralism among the new and younger nations, though it now poses a problem in the United Nations and in the relations of the Western Powers among themselves, may in the long run be more of a problem for the Soviet Union than for the United States.

The author believes that we must continue to press for the genuine freedom of the new African countries which have now won or are now winning their independence, and that our responsibility now is to offer the uncommitted world assistance without political strings and friendship without condescension.

Mr. Oakes contends that there is an extraordinary reservoir of good will toward the United States among the peoples of Yugoslavia and Poland. The United States needs to be ready to accept openly the friendship of countries with political outlooks and economic structures quite different from our own.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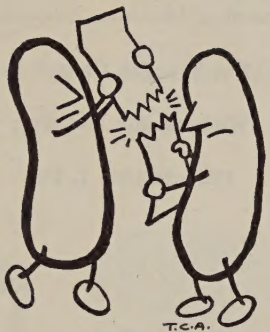
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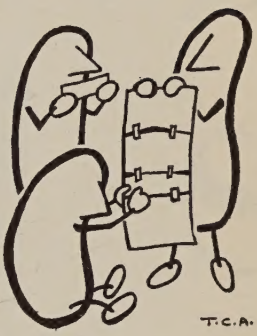
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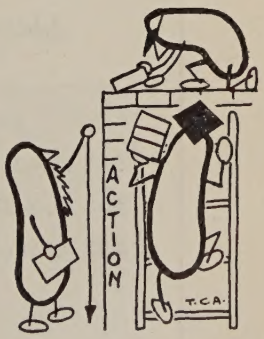
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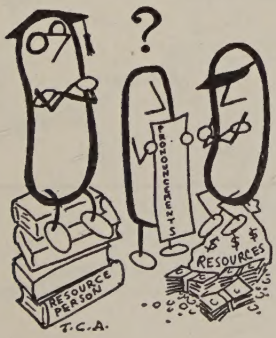
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